/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[426]
[563]
133

[823]

3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

1: Berque--30 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/20/ II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137 133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

[126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction [192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annaimmer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a [132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa- [137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen- [182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for example, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
(361) rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
(241) tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
(233) by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent. A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Peganum Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana, Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

137 /21 cont./
At one point the /22/ bushy vegetation rises up to trees: a scattered population of gum trees puts its pungent foliage with characteristic pods on calcareous outcrops which rise above the marls. It is a residual forest. The sovereign plant here is the alfa, in two types designated by the names: tanalt and auri. Only the auri climbs up to the higher level stretches: it is found at all altitudes, up to the col of the Tabgurt, where, quite stunted itself, it is accompanied by other, more paltry Graminaceae, such as izggri or targha (1).

1. At this horizon: Bupleurum, Euphorbia, Ononis atlantica, Alyssum spinosum, Stipa retorta, Isatis tinctoria, Astragalus Ibrahimianus, Erinacea Anthyllis, Descurainia sophia.

At 500 meters above the plateau of the Imlilen, overhanging the lowest part of Z'init' by an incline of about a thousand meters, the forest of Mzawt begins (2).

2. At this horizon: Tragopogon porrifolius, Roemeria hybrida, Leucanthemum maroccanum, Silene Cucubalus, Hypochaeris radicata, Scorzonera laciniata.

It prevails without interruption on the enormous dome of earth which separates the principal valley from that of Ammern: preliminary entresol to the Tabgurt. The vertical ascent above Z'init' permits noting successively the almond tree, then the wild jujube vegetation attaining arborescent form. Then Juniperus oxycedrus, particularly dense on the north face of the folds. Beginning at 1,400 meters, the holm oak, which is studded only at great intervals by the juniper. At the Mzawt, on the other side of the Seksawa, the mountainous block of the Azur, much more deforested, forms a counterpart. The two forests are very degraded up to 1,500 or 1,600 meters, then strengthen their character as one approaches the figure 2,000. But here and there

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anaghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/23 cont./

137 (2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of az'mu differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard az'mu.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, imi, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Ussttif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and
[202] /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, afert'ᵂkkᵂel (1).

1. Salvia taraxacifolia. Other plants: Marrubium vulgare, Globularia Alypum, Rumex papilio, Satureja Hochreutineri, Catananche coerulea, Arrhenatherum elatius.

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

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2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

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First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the summits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. [illegible]. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 31 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulʿwān, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 101 634 [619] Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six [132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," aggʷmi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I. [221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og, [233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseba[c] Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the [137] month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid [178] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus- [172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

• 137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
[778] Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Ait Lh'sən]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[184] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [132] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 101 634 619 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws, Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by the ikhs of the Ichiyyaan. It is the one that installed the people of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Abdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ajj Bujmâ u Abderrah'man, from Talaint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 101 634 [137] The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

778 [792] Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bulᶜwân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
● [137] The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talšint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talšint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

/119 cont./

121 619 634 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 619 133 [571] [137] Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their livestock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation. Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean reminder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain, here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look. /

174 648 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs, have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, es-
423 pecially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable
241 in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrāda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musēm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45,000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 221 [782] The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices; sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize, 794 [592] almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers, I mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And 794 613 indeed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not gentilitial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also [592] breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 [137] Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/393 cont./

175 12 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

137 177 At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 128 Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to 184 perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

571 All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/12 cont./

133 241 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
133 361 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the disinherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguias support several villages; to the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa, and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa, the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover, this route of penetration continues farther to the East by following the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 241 (137) 133 134 241 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of mountains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards. Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fertility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur; the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
• [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in
167 the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
619 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven toward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as
103 to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to